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The

Evidence of Greek Papyri with Regard to Textual Criticism

By

F. G. Kenyon

Fellow of the Academy

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THE EVIDENCE OF GREEK PAPYRI WITH REGARD TO TEXTUAL CRITICISM

By F. G. KENYON

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read January 27, 1904.

THE object of this paper is to bring together the materials which up to now have been provided by the Greek papyri discovered in Egypt on the subject of the textual criticism of the classical authors; to see what extent of evidence is now available on this topic; and to consider what bearing this evidence has, either on the actual state of our classical texts or on the methods which should be employed in editing them. The results of such an inquiry will, of course, need revision from time to time, as the mass of our materials increases; but already there is sufficient evidence extant to form a reasonable basis for induction, and to wait until all discoveries have been exhausted would be to emulate the behaviour of Horace's rustic. A future generation may have more ample means for forming its opinions; but that does not exempt us from the duty of forming an opinion to-day, and of coming to provisional conclusions on the evidence which is ready to our hand.

The evidence consists of a multitude of small details, which it would be impossible to enumerate at length, and which relate to a number of different authors; but it may be possible to take each author in turn, to state what amount of evidence with regard to his text is provided by the extant papyri, and to indicate what the general bearing of that evidence is; and then it may be possible to sum up the results and to arrive at some general conclusions with regard to the extent to which textual science has been affected by the discoveries, so numerous of late years, of Greek papyri in Egypt.

The interest of the inquiry lies, of course, in the fact that whereas until recently (but for a few exceptions one might say until the last fifteen years) our knowledge of the texts of the Greek classics rested upon manuscripts written upon vellum or paper between the tenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era, we now have a great quantity of texts (mostly small fragments, it is true, but

including several manuscripts of considerable length) written between the third century B.C. and the fifth century A.D., which must necessarily throw some light on the integrity of the tradition represented in our much later vellum MSS., and show us whether, as some have suspected, that tradition has been seriously corrupted in its transition through the comparatively dark ages of the Byzantine empire. The facts, so far as they are at present known to us, appear to be as follows.

The number of published literary papyri, large and small (but excluding theological texts, which form a class by themselves, affected by different conditions), is approximately three hundred and fifty¹. Nearly half of these², however, contain texts not previously known, and consequently are of little or no use in our present inquiry, since we have no adequate means of estimating the accuracy of their tradition. There remain 189 papyri containing texts of authors previously extant, for which we consequently have a basis of comparison. The total sounds large; but it must be remembered that most of them are fragments containing only a few lines, and that, as we shall see directly, more than half of them belong to a single author. The basis, consequently, is not so wide as we could wish. It may be slightly increased, however, by the inclusion of a few fragments on vellum, which have been discovered with papyri and belong to the latter part of the same period, and consequently are a legitimate reinforcement of their evidence.

To come to the individual authors. The first place is, of course, taken by Homer, both in date and in the number of extant papyri. Out of the 189 papyri of known authors enumerated above, no less than 109 contain portions of Homer. Of these seventy-nine contain portions of the *Iliad*, six scholia on the *Iliad*, twenty-two portions of the *Odyssey*, and two scholia on the *Odyssey*. Out of the 15693 lines contained in the *Iliad*, 6526 are extant, whole or in part, on papyrus; while out of the 12110 lines of the *Odyssey* only 942 are so represented. This is no unfair test of the relative popularity of the two works in Hellenistic times.

The papyri of Homer fall into two classes. First there is a small group of manuscripts, of relatively early date, which are remarkable

¹ My enumeration gives 347 up to and including the texts in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III; other lists would no doubt differ slightly in what they include and what they reject. The philosophical texts among the Herculaneum papyri are not included.

² 158; papyri containing scholia on known texts are reckoned among the known authors, since they provide evidence with regard to their texts, and are therefore available for our present purpose.

as containing additional lines which do not form part of our common texts. These manuscripts are four in number, three being of the third century B.C. and one of the second century B.C.; and to these may perhaps be added one papyrus of the second century after Christ (Oxy. Pap. 20) which contains a single new line in Bk. ii of the *Iliad* (after l. 798). Of the others, the manuscript now known as Brit. Mus. Pap. 689a¹ contains indications of three new lines to eight old ones in Bk. viii, and shows marked variants in three other lines. The Petrie fragment of the eleventh book (now Brit. Mus. Pap. 486d) contains five new lines and omits three old ones in a space of thirty-six lines of our vulgate text². A Geneva papyrus³ of the last sixty-one lines of Bk. xi and the first nine of Bk. xii has nine new lines in that space and considerable alterations in five others. Finally a Bodleian papyrus⁴, containing about seventy much mutilated lines from various parts of Bks. xxi-xxiii, has apparently nine new lines in that space and several noticeable variants. It will be observed that in all these cases of manuscripts containing what may be called an expanded text of Homer the average of additional lines is high, in three cases amounting to about thirteen per cent., while in the very small fourth fragment it is still higher. The phenomenon is not new. Ancient authors have preserved in their quotations similar lines not now found in our vulgate; in fact one of the lines now discovered on papyrus was previously known from a quotation in Plutarch. Nevertheless the discovery of these four fragmentary manuscripts has called fresh attention to the phenomenon, and has also raised our conception of the extent to which it prevailed. With regard to the character of the additional lines, this is not the place for a full discussion of them, especially

¹ Published in Grenfell and Hunt's *Greek Papyri*, II. no. 2; contains portions of one new line before viii. 217 and two after 252. It apparently has Ἀχαιῶν as the last word of 217 and ἑταίρους as the last word of 219; and in 251 it reads εἶδοντο Διὸς τέρας [αἰγυόχοιο] for εἶδονθ', ὅτ' ἄρ' ἐκ Διὸς ἦλυθεν ὄρνις. The new lines after 252 are not duplicates of lines occurring elsewhere.

² Petrie Pap. I. 3 (4); contains II. xi. 502-537, with traces of additional lines after 504, 509, 513, 519, 528; II. 520, 529, 530 are omitted.

³ Published by J. Nicole, *Revue de Philologie*, xviii. 104; traces of additional lines after 795 (two), 804, 805, 807, 838, and three complete lines after 827.

⁴ Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, II. 6, now Bodl. MS. Gr. class. b. 3 (P); traces of additional lines after xxii. 132, 259, 262; xxiii. 160, 162, 165, 195, 223 (two). Plutarch quotes l. 223 with the second of these new lines, but has not the first. In xxi. 396 the papyrus has Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδῃ ἀναγας, in xxiii. 198 ὦκα δὲ Ἴρις (adopted by Monro and Allen) for the ὦκέα δ' Ἴρις of all other codd. There are indications of other variants, but the mutilation of the papyrus makes the exact readings uncertain.

as they have been very fully examined elsewhere, notably by Ludwich (*Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinisch erwiesen*, Leipzig, 1898). It will be sufficient to say that, with hardly an exception, they add nothing substantial to the poem, but are just such additions as a rhapsodist might make who was anxious to extend the bulk of his recitation. The papyri would seem to indicate that such expanded texts were not by any means uncommon in the early Ptolemaic age; but they appear to have died out shortly afterwards, and practically disappear before the Christian era.

Over against this small group of nonconformist MSS. stands the great mass of our papyri, of which it may be said, with very little qualification, that they contain the vulgate text of Homer, substantially as it is contained in the much later vellum MSS. upon which our knowledge of the poems rests. The large majority of the extant papyri are only small fragments, containing portions only of some twenty, thirty, or forty lines, with no variants of importance from the vulgate. Out of the whole total nine papyri of the *Iliad* may be selected as being of sufficient size and importance to deserve separate mention, and two of the *Odyssey*. From these we shall be able to obtain a fair idea of the general character of the Homeric texts preserved to us by the papyri.

Brit. Mus. Pap. 126¹ is a manuscript of the third century, in book form, containing, in its present condition, a continuous text from ii. 101 to iv. 40, but deliberately omitting the whole of the catalogue of the ships at the end of Bk. ii (as is the case in eleven other MSS. cited by Monro and Allen). Its text is the vulgate, very indifferently written in the first instance, though most of the errors

¹ Kenyon, *Classical Texts from Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1891), p. 81. The more notable variants are ii. 108 νησὶ for νήσοισι (corrected in the papyrus), 163 μετὰ for κατὰ (with most codd., against Aristarchus **a c f g i**), 179 μετὰ for κατὰ (with most MSS., against Ar. **h A U** al.); the terminations of 163 and 179 (which begin alike) are transposed; 192 Ἀρπείδαο for Ἀρπείωνος (with other MSS., against L and the Alexandrian critics), 206 om. (with most MSS., against **a b c g h q** Dio Chrys.), iii. 57 εἶσο for ἔσσο (with V⁵, against other MSS. and critics), 74 ναίουμεν for ναίετε (with Zenodotus), 94 om. (probably supplied in margin), 126 ἀνέπασσεν for ἐνέπασσεν (against all MSS.), 163 ἴδης for ἴδη (with Zen. **b d e f g B C T** al.), 165 Ἄργος for Ἀχαιῶν (alone), 215 ἦ for εἰ (with **f A B T** Nicanor Herodian, adopted by M. and A.), 235 om. (with M⁵ O⁵, supplied by corrector), 257 νέεσθων for νέονται (corrected), 272 om. (supplied by corrector), 349 ἀσπίδι ἐν for ἀσπίδ' ἐνὶ (with **b l A G N** V¹ V¹³ V¹⁵ al.), 371 ἀπαλῆς ὑπὸ δειρῆς for ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρήν (corrected), 428 πολέμοιο for πολέμου, 436 δαμασθῆς for δαμήης (with **k A G e L** L¹⁰ L¹⁸ M⁸ M^o N⁴ U¹⁰ V¹² V¹⁵ V¹⁹ Ve al.), 453 ἐκέυθανεν for ἐκέυθανον. This and the other collations of papyri of the *Iliad* are made from the edition of Monro and Allen (Oxford, 1902), and the references to other MSS. are drawn from their *apparatus criticus*.

have been subsequently corrected. Out of some 350 variants revealed by a collation in 894 lines, only about twenty deserve any consideration as representing real divergences of text¹. In two cases (iii. 74 *ναίοιμεν*, 163 *ἰδης*) it has readings of Zenodotus.

Brit. Mus. Pap. 136 *verso*² is of the first century, and contains portions of the third and fourth books of the *Iliad*. Its average of noteworthy readings is decidedly higher than in the last case, being thirteen out of 193 in 487 lines on a rough estimate. Two of these readings (iv. 378 *δὲ* for *ῥα*: 542 *ἐλοῦσ' αὐτὰρ* for *ἐλοῦσα ἀτὰρ*, *ἐλοῦσ' ἀτὰρ*, or *ἐλοῦσα αὐτὰρ*) are adopted by Monro and Allen; in the first case the papyrus has the support of a few later MSS., in the second it stands alone.

Brit. Mus. Pap. 128³ is a much more noteworthy MS. It belongs

¹ Mr. Allen's tables (*Class. Rev.* xiii. 115) give a more favourable appearance to this papyrus, but only because he states the total number of variants as eighty-four. The number of really noteworthy variants given above agrees almost exactly with the number of variants quoted from this MS. in the *apparatus criticus* of Monro and Allen.

² *Classical Texts*, p. 93. The more notable variants are iv. 15 *ῥ' om.* (with *h* Eust. al.), 174 *ἄρουραν* for *ἄρουρα*, 213 *δὲ* for *δ' ἐκ*, 303 *ἱπποσύνησι* for *ἱπποσύνη τε* (with *o* al.), 339 *λόγοισι* for *δολοῖσι*, 353 *ἦν κ' for ἦν* (vulg.) or *αἱ κ'*, 378 *δὲ* for *ῥα* (with *h A T* al., adopted by M. and A.), 398 *ἀναπροέηκε* for *ἄρα προέηκε*, 427 *ἄρνυντο* for *κύνυντο* (with *M⁸ U⁶*), 434 *ἐστήκωσιν* for *ἐστήκασιν* (with *g m A B T* al.), 461 *om.*, 524 *ἠπέδραμεν* for *ἐπέδραμεν*, 542 *ἐλοῦσ' αὐτὰρ* for *ἐλοῦσα ἀτὰρ*, *ἐλοῦσ' ἀτὰρ*, or *ἐλοῦσα αὐτὰρ* (alone, adopted by M. and A.). It will be observed that these variants are more independent, and find less support in other MSS., than most of those in the previous papyrus.

³ Collation, *ib.* p. 100; published in full in *Journal of Philology*, xxi. 296-343. Notable variants: xxiii. 48 *πειθώμεθα* (vulg.) is altered to *τερπώμεθα* (*ταρπώμεθα V¹*), 61 *ἀπ' for ἐπ'* (with *b V¹⁰*), 76 *νείομαι* for *νίσομαι* (with *L² L¹² U³*), 407 *λίπησθε* for *λίπησθον*, 427 *εὐρύτερη παρελάσσαι* (*παρελάσσεις* vulg., *παρελάσσαι e h B Ba U⁵ V²⁰*; *εὐρύτερη παρελάσσαι M. and A.*), 434 *ἐλαύνων* for *ἐλαύνειν*, 444 *καμώντε* for *καμόντα*, 452 *ἰόντος* for *έόντος* (with *D*), *ἀκούων* for *ἀκούσας*, 523 *διόκ' οὔρα* for *δίσκουρα* (with *Ba L²⁰ Mc M¹¹ N¹ N⁴ O⁵* and attested by scholiasts), 565 *om.* (with *b g k A B C Ba* etc., and Brit. Mus. Add. 17210), 593 *ἀπαιτήσας* for *ἐπατ.*, 626 *om.*, 640 *αὐτόθι* for *αὐτόφι* (with *h p C U¹³ V¹* etc., against Aristarchus and vulg.; adopted by M. and A.), 657 *ἀνθρώποισιν* for *Ἀργείοισιν* (corrected), 662 *φερέσθω* for *νείσθω* (with *c f g A B T* al.), 679 *Θήβας* for *Θήβασθ'* (with *e N¹ N¹¹ V¹* al.), 682 *μάλα* for *μέγα*, 707 *πειρήσεσθε* for *-σθον*, 721 *ἐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί* for *-δας Ἀχαιοὺς* (with *DN¹ O⁵ V¹ V¹⁶*; an ancient variant), 732 *πλησίον* for *πλησίσι*, 739 *ἀπομορξάμενοι* for *-νω*, 753 *πειρήσεσθον* for *-σθε* (with Zenodotus and Pe), 767 *ἰέμενοι* for *ἰεμένω* (with the Ambrosian *Iliad*, *ch p D V¹ V¹³ V¹⁶*), 773 *ἔμελλεν* for *ἐμελλον*, 782 *φίλοι* for *πόποι*, 804 *om.* (with many MSS.), 815 *ἔλε* for *ἔχε* (with the corrector of *U⁶*), 821 *ἀκωκὴν* for *-κῆ* (with *h A B C D U⁹ V¹⁴ V²⁰*), 864 *om.* (with *g Ba L¹⁰* etc.), 874 *ἰπάλ* for *ὑπὸ*, 875 *μέσσον* for *μέσσης* or *μέσσην*, 879 *λίασθαι* for *λίσσασθαι* (with the ed. Massil.), 892 *om.*, xxiv. 28 *ἀρχῆς* for *ἀτης* (with *V¹⁶* and var. in *A*), 48 *ὀδυρόμενος* for *ὀδυράμενος* (with *c e h l m n A* marg. etc.), 79 *ἐπιστενάχιζε* for *ἐπιστοναχῆσε*, 119 *om.*, 126 *παρέζετο* for *καθέζετο*, 177

to the latter part of the first century B.C., and contains the greater part of Bks. xxiii and xxiv. Except for one column, which has been written by a different hand, evidently to make good a damage to the roll, and which abounds with errors of transcription, the text is notably good and the variants are mostly intelligible. Quite a third of them (fifty-six out of 146) must be regarded as worthy of an editor's consideration, though they may not have authority enough to be admitted into his text. Messrs. Monro and Allen have admitted three (xxiii. 427 *εὐρυτέρη παρελάσσαι* for *εὐρυτέρη παρελάσσαις*, 640 *αὐτόθι* for *αὐτόφι*: xxiv. 604 *νίees* for *νίεις*); the first is known as an ancient variant, the last as read by Aristarchus, but neither appears in any other extant MS. Many other readings of this papyrus find a place in their *apparatus criticus*. The MS. is further remarkable as one of the earliest extant MSS. containing the critical symbols of Aristarchus, of which something will have to be said presently.

Oxyrhynchus Pap. 223¹, of the third century, contains about half of Bk. v, in a fairly correctly written text. Few of its variants (perhaps nineteen) are of some substantial interest. Four lines are omitted (42, 57, 75, 126), in two cases with support from other MSS. Two readings (31 *τεῖχεσιβλήτα* by second hand, 227 *ἐπιβήσομαι*) are those of Zenodotus, one (293 *ἐξελεύθη*) of Aristarchus. In other respects it is a somewhat undistinguished vulgate text.

Tebtunis Pap. 4², belonging to the end of the second century B.C., and containing 116 lines of Bk. ii, is an even earlier example of a MS. with Aristarchan critical symbols than Brit. Mus. Pap. 128. Its

οἶος for *οἶον* (with G), 179 *ἦ κε* for *ἦ δέ* (with A corr. D L¹⁶ M⁸ T), 215 *πρὸς* for *πρὸ* (with Bankes pap., **ehmnd** al.), 240 *ἔπεισι* for *ἐνεσι*, 265 *πάντες* for *πατρός*, 387 *ἀνθρώπων* for *τοκῶν*, 421 *ἐπ'* for *ἐν* (with Bankes pap., **cefi** etc.), 512 *στεναχὴ* for *στοναχὴ* (with Zen.), 515 *αἰτίκα δ' ἐκ* for *αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ*, 518 *ἄσχεο* for *ἄνσχεο* (with L¹⁹ M¹ U⁴ V¹¹), 567 *πυλάων* for *θυράων*, 571 *[ἐσι]γῆσεν* for *ἔδεισεν*, 604 *νίees* for *νίεις* (adopted by M. and A.; Aristarchus has both), 693 om. (with Bankes pap. **afla** al.), 697 *ἄγον* for *φέρων* (with **h A L¹⁶ M⁸**), 704 *Ἐκτορα δῖον* for *Ἐκτορ' ἰόντες*, 724 *ἱπποδάμοιο* for *ἀνδροφόνου* (with Bankes pap., **cemr** N¹ V¹ al.).

¹ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II. Notable variants: 16 *θ'* for *δ'*, 31 *τεῖχεσιβλήτα* (second hand) for *-πλήτα* (with Zenodotus, Macrobius, L¹ L¹⁵), 42 om. (with **A B C Et T V²⁰ V²⁵**), 43 *τέκτονος* (first hand) for *Μήονος*, 57 om. (with **e A B C D** al.), 75 om., 104 *δηθὰ σχήσσεσθαι* for *δίθ' ἀνσχήσσεσθαι* (with **g k Ge U⁸** al.), *μένος* for *βέλος* (with Ge), 118 *τὸν δέ τέ μ'* for *δὸς δέ τέ μ'* (an old variant), 126 om., 128 *γινώσκεις* for *γινώσκης*, 132 *δουρὶ* for *χαλκῶ* (corrected), 141 *τέτανται* for *κέχυνται*, 178 *ἄπο* for *ἐπὶ* (corrected), 200 *Τρώεσσιν ἀνὰ* for *Τρώεσσι κατὰ*, 205 *ἔμελλεν* for *ἔμελλον* (with **b A B D** al.), 227 *ἐπιβήσομαι* for *ἀποβ-* (with Zenodotus, **b c g C**, against Aristarchus), 234 *ποθέοντες* for *-ντε* (with **a c f h D Ve** al.), 293 *ἐξελεύθη* for *ἐξεσύθη* (with Aristarchus, **bgil A B Ve** al., against Zenodotus; adopted by M. and A.).

² Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*.

textual variants are very few. In one case its first hand agrees with Aristarchus (133 Ἰλιον), and it is in accord with Aristonicus in obelizing l. 124. It also omits l. 206.

Oxyrhynchus Pap. 445¹, of the latter part of the second century, contains portions of Bk. vi, with a rather high average of noticeable variants. It has the Aristarchan critical symbols, and in its readings shows rather more traces of the influence of Aristarchus than usual; but its extent is small (only 114 lines), so that its evidence does not amount to much.

The papyrus known (from its discovery at a time when papyri were still so rare as to have the name of their discoverer attached to them) as the Harris Homer (Brit. Mus. Pap. 107)² contains the greater part of Bk. xviii in a hand of the end of the first century. Its text is the vulgate, with many mistakes by the first hand, subsequently corrected. Substantial variants are very few, only some eighteen, of which six consist of the omission of lines.

The Bankes Homer (Brit. Mus. Pap. 114)³, somewhat later in

¹ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III. Notable variants: vi. 128 οὐρανόν, apparently, for οὐρανοῦ (with Aristarchus, **adq** al.), 187 ἐπερχομένῳ for ἀνερχ- (Ar., vulg.), second hand ἀπερχ-, which is an ancient variant, 464 τεθνηῶτα for τεθνεῶτα (with Aristarchus and some MSS.), 478 βίην ἀγαθόν τε for βίην τ' ἀγαθόν (ancient variant, with **cehCDT** al.), 493 πᾶσι μάλιστα δ' ἐμοὶ for πᾶσιν ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, 494 χειρὶ παχείῃ for φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ (corrected), 523 ἀλλ' ἀέων for ἀλλὰ ἐκόν.

² Thompson and Warner, *Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, pt. i (Greek), p. 1. Notable variants: 33 χειρὸς for χείρας, 47 ἐνθ' ἄρα ἦν for ἐνθα δ' ἔην, 63 ἴδωμι for ἴδοιμι (with **M⁸M¹⁰N⁴U¹¹V¹⁰**; adopted by M. and A.), 124 ἀδυνά for ἀδωνόν (with A corr. **rM¹⁰V¹¹**, against Aristarchus), 127 Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα for θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα, 138 ἔηος for εἰοῖο (with **i**, variant in A), 200-1 om., 357 βοῶπι for βοῶπις (with **iACV¹** al.), 373 μὲν for γάρ (corrected), 376 δύσονται for δυσαίαν' (with **egikl** al.), 381 om. (with A **L¹⁰L¹¹** etc.), 427 om. (with **irGeV¹⁰**, Brit. Mus. Add. 17210), 441 om. (with some ancient authorities), 459 om. (corrected), 508 om. (corrected), 550 βασιλῆιον for βαθυλήιον (with Louvre Pap. 3 bis, A B C G Ge al.; adopted by M. and A.), 552 πίπτεν for πίπτον, 617 τεύχεα καλὰ φέρονσα παρ' Ἡφαίστοιο ἀνακτος for τεύχεα μαρμαίροντα παρ' Ἡφαίστοιο φέρονσα (with **iL²N⁴T V¹¹V¹⁸**).

³ *Ib.*, p. 6 (description); collation by G. C. Lewis in *Philological Museum*, 1832, p. 177. Notable variants: 209 ποτε for ποθι, 214 τε for ἐ (ancient variant), 215 πρὸς for πρὸ (with B. M. Pap. 128, **ehm n** al.), 231 λευκά for καλὰ (with **cfhiA BC** al.; adopted by M. and A.), 240 ἐστὶ for ἐνεστι (with **hiV¹** al.), 241 ὀνόσεσθ' (second hand) for ὀνόσασθ' (Ar. Apoll. lex.) or οὔνεσθ' (vulg.), 292 ἐὼν for ταχὺν (ancient variant), 344 om., 376 μένος for δέμας, 397 δ' ἐμὸς for δέ μοι, 413 ἦδε for ἦως (with **ehm pD** al.), 436 μωμέειν for συλᾶειν, 479 παιδοφόνους (second hand) for ἀνδροφόνους, 492 μολόντα for ἰόντα (with **egh** al.), 521 ἐξενάρηξε for -ξα (with **g**), 526 ἀχτυμένους for -νους (with **ehADN⁴V¹**; adopted by M. and A.), 544 μακάρων (second hand) for Μάκαρος (with **hL¹⁰V¹V¹⁰** Dio Prus. Plut.), 546 τῶ for τῶν (with **cpBaN¹TV¹V²⁸** al.), 558 om. (with **bDGfTV¹** al.), 578

date than the last named, and containing the greater part of Bk. xxiv, has a rather more important text. Monro and Allen accept three of its readings (231 λευκά for καλά, 526 ἀχυνμένοις for ἀχυνμένους, 642 λανκανίης for λευκανίης: in all these cases the papyrus has the support of several other MSS.), and quote twenty-nine more in their *apparatus*.

Last among the more notable papyri of the *Iliad* may be mentioned the MS. containing the greater part of Bks. xiii and xiv, originally discovered and edited by Mr. A. S. Hunt, now Brit. Mus. Pap. 732¹. It is probably of the end of the first century. Its text is normally vulgate, but it contains a considerable number of substantial variants, in nearly all of which it has the support of some among the later vellum MSS. In two cases it supports readings which Monro and Allen prefer to the vulgate (xiii. 190 ὀρέξατο for ἀκόντισε, xiv. 181 ζώνη . . . ἀραρυῖη for ζώνη . . . ἀραρυῖαν). In three cases it is in agreement with Aristarchus, and twice with Zenodotus, but it cannot be said that its evidence is of any one marked type or family. It is observable that its variations seldom coincide with those of the sixth-century palimpsest in the British Museum (Add. MS. 17210).

Of the *Odyssey* only two papyri deserve special mention, and even they are not as extensive as the *Iliad* manuscripts which have just

εὐσώτρον for ἐνέστου (with **h D T V**¹ A marg.), 595 ὥς for ὅσσ', 642 λανκανίης for λευκανίης (with **eh A B G f N**⁴ T al.; adopted by M. and A.), 673 αὐτοῦ for αὐτόθι, 693 om. (with B. M. Pap. 128, **a f** etc.), 724 ἵπποδάμοιο for ἀνδροφόνοιο (with B. M. Pap. 128, **cem r N**¹ V¹ V²³ al.), 740 περὶ for κατὰ, 759 καταπέφνη for κατέπεφνεν (with **ch**, variant in A), 760 ἔγειρε for ὄρινε (with **p L**¹⁰ M¹ M¹² O²), 770 ἦεν (second hand) for αἰεὶ (with **hp V**¹⁸), 790 om. (with **b c e g A Ba** etc.), 802 συναγειράμενοι for συναγειρόμενοι (with **c f g h** etc.).

¹ Hunt, *Journal of Philology*, xxvi. 25. Notable variants: xiii. 42 Ἀχαιοὺς for Ἀχαιῶν (with **a d e f h A D T** etc.), 77 δὴ καὶ μοι for νῦν καὶ ἐμοί, 166 [ξυν]έηκε for ξυνέαξε or ξυνέηξε (Zen.), 190 ὀρέξατο for ἀκόντισε (with **b A B C D** etc.; adopted by M. and A.), 209 κήδεα τεύχεν for κήδε' ἔτευχεν, 230 δὲ for τε (with B. M. Add. 17210, **i** etc.), 234 κεν for τις, 245 ἐνὶ for περὶ (with Zen. and Aristoph.), 255 om. (with Ar., apparently, B. M. Add. 17210, **d A B C D** etc.), 301 Ἐφύρου for -ους, 316 om. (with **A B Ba C D M**⁴ T V¹⁶ V²⁰), 318 κείνω for κείνων (with **o L**⁶ U³ V² V⁵ etc., against Ar.), 327 καὶ for τις, 349 ὀλέσσαι for ὀλέσθαι (with **c d h i k B C** etc.), 358 οἱ for τοι or τω (with Ar. (?), **ck D** al.), 408 τῇ ρ' for τῇ, 480 om., 464 ἀνδρὶ for ἐστὶ, 485 ὀμηλικίη for ὀμηλικίη (with Ar. **A B G H L**⁴ L¹⁶ T V¹⁶), 543 ἔκλινεν for ἐκλίνθη, 565 γαίη for γαίης (with **f h i B C** etc.), 584 ἀμαρτήτην for ὀμ- (with B Ba V²⁰, ancient variant), 594 ἐκ δ' ἄρα τόξου for ἐν δ' ἄρα τόξῳ, 668 χερσὶν for νηυσὶν, xiv. 168 τὸν for τὴν (with **m N**² N² N⁴ etc.), 172 ἐανῶ for ἐδανῶ (with Athenaeus and schol. B), 181 ζώνην . . . ἀραρυῖη for -ην . . . -αν (ζώνη . . . ἀραρυῖη M. and A., with Ar. **h A B** corr. U¹), 235 πείθεο for πείθειν (with **f** etc.), 420 om. (with Ambrosian Iliad, A L⁶ L⁸ N⁴ V¹ V¹³ V¹⁶), 437 ἀπέμασσαν for ἀπέμεσσαν (with Zen., **g A B C D** etc., against Ar.), 453 μακρὰ βιβάζσθων for μακρὸν αὖσας (with **fil** etc.), 474 κεφαλὴν for γενέην.

been described. Brit. Mus. Pap. 271¹ is a beautifully written fragment of the third book, belonging to the first century. It is accurately written, with a few noteworthy readings and some marginal scholia, in which occur the names of Ammonius, Apion, Zenodotus, and perhaps Herodorus. Two of its readings were previously known only from scholiasts, and one was the reading of Aristarchus. An obelus is prefixed to eight lines.

Oxyrhynchus Pap. 448² contains nearly 400 lines of Bk. xxii, with a few of xxiii, in a hand of the third century. It has a good text, with few blunders, but with only about a dozen noticeable variants, and those of no special importance.

All the remaining mass of Homeric papyri may be ignored, as consisting of fragments too small to be important for our present purpose, save that they confirm the impression already established by the larger manuscripts in favour of the universal prevalence of the vulgate text of Homer in the period from which they are drawn. One other feature of the papyri, however, remains to be mentioned, namely the occurrence in them of the critical symbols used by Aristarchus. Five papyri are as yet known which contain these symbols. The earliest, Tebtunis Pap. 4, of the end of the second century B.C., has three examples of the obelus, and one each of the διπλῇ περιεστιγμένη, ἀντίσιγμα, and asterisk with obelus. About a century later, Brit. Mus. Pap. 128 has eleven cases of the διπλῇ and one asterisk. The finely written MS. of *Iliad* ii discovered by Petrie at Hawara, and now in the Bodleian Library, has as many as twenty-one examples of the διπλῇ, ten of the διπλῇ περιεστιγμένη, and seven of the obelus. Oxyrhynchus Pap. 445 has ten examples of the διπλῇ, four of the asterisk, and one of the ἀντίσιγμα. Finally the British Museum Odyssey

¹ *Journal of Philology*, xxii. 238. Notable variants: iii. 290 τροφέοντο for τροφόντα (with Aristarchus, apparently, and with Apion and Herodorus, according to the scholium in this papyrus), 443 χερσὶ (Herodorus and schol. H) for χειρὶ, 469 ποιμένα (first hand, with several MSS., followed by Ludwig) for ποιμένοι (second hand, vulg.), 472 ἐνοινοχοεῦντες for οἰνοχοεῦντες (with FT, ancient variant), 479 ἀν for ἐν (with TH²), 487 om., 490 ὁ δὲ τοῖς πὰρ ξείνα θῆκεν (first hand, with P J K H² M³) for ὁ δ' ἄρα ξεινήα δῶκεν (second hand, vulg.), 493 om. (so Ludwig and many MSS.). The obelus is prefixed to ll. 321, 396, 400, 458, 461, 472, 484, 486.

² Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III. Notable variants: xxii. 37 τε for δι (with U Eust.), 44 om. (with most MSS.), 128 ἐντὸς εἶσαι for εὐ ἀραρυῖαι (with U X Eust.), 130 ἐστεῶτ' for ἐσταῶτ' or other forms (with G H P, followed by Ludwig), ἀγχοῦ τῆς for ἄγχ' αὐτῆς, 192 om. (with most MSS.), 251 μὴ δ' for μὴ, 255 ἐκέλευσε for -ευεν (with X), 274 τῶν δ' for τῶν, 278 ἄκρον for ἄκρον (with U X Eust.), 287 [πολ]υ[κέρτομε] apparently for φιλοκέρτομε (with M), xxiii. 192 ὄφρα τέλεισσα for ὄφρ' ἐτέλεισσα.

Papyrus (Pap. 271) has the obelus in eight places. It must be observed, however, that none of these papyri gives anything like a full representation of the critical apparatus of Aristarchus. We know more about his criticism from our previous sources of information, and the papyri, interesting though they may be as showing the system in actual operation, add little that is substantial to our knowledge of the subject.

To sum up with regard to the Homeric poems in general, since their textual history is necessarily on a different footing from that of the other classical writers, it may be said broadly that the papyri have introduced no new element into the discussion, though they have emphasized certain points in connexion with it. They have called fresh attention to the fact of the existence of divergent texts in the early Ptolemaic period, but they have done nothing to show that these texts were either authentic or important. For the rest, they show (if proof were needed) that the vulgate text of Homer, as previously known from the mediaeval vellum MSS., goes back substantially in the same form as far as our evidence takes us. On the other hand, the minor families into which the vellum MSS. can be divided¹ are not found in existence in the papyri, and consequently it may fairly be concluded that the archetypes from which they are derived are of later date than the papyrus period. With regard to Alexandrian criticism, the papyri tell us practically nothing. None of them contains a text which can be identified with that of Aristarchus or any other known critic, and it is only comparatively rarely that any of the special readings associated with the Alexandrian critics find support in them. All that we have at present is a considerable accession of witnesses which have to be taken into consideration along with those previously known, not substantially different in character, not equal in character to the text of the vellum MSS., though presenting a certain number of readings which are at least possible, and in some cases probable.

The other classical authors will not need such lengthy treatment. Hesiod, who comes next in point of time, is represented by only four papyri. One of these, a manuscript of the fourth century in the Rainer collection at Vienna², is of considerable length, containing

¹ For these see especially T. W. Allen, *Classical Review*, 1899, p. 110 seqq.

² Published by Wessely and Rzach in the former's *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, I (1901). Notable variants: *Works* 252 χίλιοι for μύριοι, 260 om., 262 παρκλίνωσι for -πουσι (with BS), 278 ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτοῖς for ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς (with Plut., Sext. Emp., Aelian), 293 αὐτὸς for αὐτῶ (with Aristotle, Aristides, etc., followed by editors), 310 om. (with M, Proclus and Stobaeus), 325-6 om., 357 καὶ for καὶν (with M Z B Q V Stob.), δοῖν for δῶν (with Proclus and some MSS.),

fifty-six lines of the *Theogonia*, 247 of the *Works*, and seventy of the *Shield*. The text is good, with little substantial variation from the vulgate. It contains hardly any important new readings, but it generally supports the better class of MSS. In some cases, however, it contains obviously erroneous readings which reappear in the later MSS., and thus shows the antiquity of these errors. Two modern conjectures are confirmed (*Shield* 15 οὐδέ οἱ ἦεν with Hermann, 432 ἐλθέμεν with Nauck); but the rest, which are numerous enough, are unsupported.

Of the smaller fragments, one at Geneva¹, which appears to be also of the fourth century, contains thirty-eight lines of the *Works*, but is remarkable as having traces of four lines before l. 174 which are not in our other MSS. It is on record that l. 169 and the lines following it (καὶ τοὺς ἔξης) were condemned in antiquity as spurious; and Weil now ingeniously suggests that the condemnation really applied to these lines of the Geneva fragment. This would account for their presence in the papyrus and for their disappearance from later MSS.; though it must be admitted that in the case of Homer the condemnation of critics proved singularly powerless to effect the expulsion of suspected lines from the current texts. It is unfortunate that this part of the poem is not preserved in the Rainer papyrus.

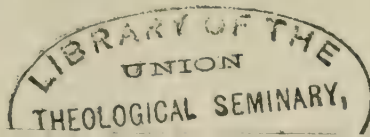
The *Theogonia* is represented by forty imperfect lines in the British Museum², and seventy-one at Paris³. Both MSS. are

688 ὡς ἀγορεύω for ὅσο' or ὥς σ' ἀγ. (with B A Q G E Mm²), 788 φιλέοι δ' ὁ γε for φιλέει δέ τε or κε, 793 om., 812 γάρ θ' ἦ γε for γάρ θ' ἦδε, κ.τ.λ., 818 ἐλκόμεναι for εἰρύμεναι: *Shield* 15 οὐδέ οἱ for οὐ γάρ οἱ (conjectured by Hermann), 432 ἐλθέμεν for ἐλθεῖν (conjectured by Nauck), 434 Ἄρεος ἔστη for ἔστη Ἄρηος, 461 σαρκὸς for σάκος (with A H F O V): *Theog.* 631 is placed before 630, 811 χάλκεος is confirmed against the λάϊνος of some MSS. The collation is with Rzach's apparatus; and cf. the remarks of Rzach on the readings of the papyrus, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-16.

¹ Nicole, *Revue de Philologie*, xii. 113. Notable variants: 157 om., 174 ὤφελλον for ὤφειλον (with B L O), 176 παύονται for παύσονται, 210-1, condemned by Aristarchus, are retained, 215 αὐτοῦ for αὐτῆς.

² Kenyon, *Rev. de Phil.* xvi. 181; contains ll. 210-238, 260-270. In l. 228 the papyrus appears to have had μάχας τε φόνους τ' for φόνους τε μάχας τ'.

³ Wilcken, *Sitzungsab. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1887, p. 807; contains ll. 75-145. Notable variants: 80 ἡ γὰρ καὶ with MSS. against Stobaeus (ἡ μὲν γὰρ), 83 ἐέσσην for ἀοιδῆν (with O and schol. against other MSS., Stob., Aristides), 84 οἱ δέ τε for οἱ δέ νυ (with Arist. and Themist.), 87 αἰψά κε for αἰψά τε (supporting a conjecture of Peppmüller against the MSS., Stob., Arist.), 91 ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀν' ἀγῶνα for ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀνὰ ἄστν (with schol. Ven. B on Homer), εἰσορόωσιν for διάσκονται (with Plutarch), 93 τοίη for οἶά τε (supporting conjecture of Guet), 102 δυσφροσυνέων for δυσφρονέων (with M C), 111 om. (with Hippolytus), 112 ἄφενος (with MSS., against Hippolytus' στέφανον), 116 ἦτοι (with MSS., against Aristotle's πάντων), 127 καλύπτῃ for -τοι (with C V O and schol. on Pindar), 141 τεύξάν τε for τεύξαντο (with M corr.).



assigned to the fourth or fifth century. The only noteworthy variant in the first-named is the name 'Ωκυρόην for 'Ωκυπέτην in line 267, which appears to have some support from Apollodorus. The Paris MS. has some interesting readings, sometimes agreeing with ancient quotations and sometimes opposing them.

The next author to be mentioned is Solon, in whose case the most notable example of a certain correction of a false reading has taken place. This, as is well known, occurs in the British Museum papyrus of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία of Aristotle, which contains twelve lines previously known from quotations in Plutarch, two which appear also under the name of Theognis, and twenty-seven known from Aristides (of which one occurs also in Plutarch). The number of discrepancies between the papyrus and the MSS. of these other authors is somewhat considerable. In five cases the papyrus is certainly wrong while the others are right; in one instance both are wrong; in four cases the decision might be doubtful, though the much greater age of the papyrus is in its favour; and in eight cases the papyrus is certainly right. Three of these are small corrections which had been already made by modern critics; the rest are new. The most notable is of course the reading τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπο χρειοῦς φυγόντας in place of the unintelligible χρησμὸν λέγοντας, which commentators had striven in vain either to explain or to emend. One modern critic had hit upon the right sense and half the right reading (Sitzler, *δρησμὸν φυγόντας*), but only to be contemptuously dismissed by Bekker in his standard edition of the remains of Solon. The whole episode of these Solonian verses is very instructive as to the value and limitations of modern textual criticism.

Passing on to the Athenian dramatists, Aeschylus is unrepresented except by two small fragments which may possibly come from lost plays, but which are of no use for our present inquiry. Of Sophocles only one papyrus is known (*Oxyrhynchus* Pap. 22), containing twenty-four lines from the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, in a hand of the fifth century¹. It shows two variants from the received text which are possible but not necessary, while it also has one certainly erroneous reading, which is consequently shown to be of relatively early date. Euripides, as might be expected, is better represented, but only to the extent of five small fragments of papyrus, and four vellum leaves of the sixth century which may be classed with them. The plays concerned are the *Medea*, *Orestes*, *Hippolytus*, and *Phoenissae*. The *Medea*

¹ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I. The readings are 376 με . . . γε σοῦ (with all MSS., but certainly wrong), 378 τοῦ for σοῦ, 430 αὐ for οὐ (corrected).

fragment¹, though exceptionally early, being from the first half of the second century B.C., is full of blunders and quite worthless. Of the two scraps of the *Orestes*², one is remarkable as being accompanied by musical notes, but neither has any substantial departure from the received text. The *Hippolytus*³ also, though much more extensive, consisting as it does of four consecutive leaves, containing about 270 lines, shows no important variants. The *Phoenissae* fragment, which contains thirty-five lines, and is of the third century, is more interesting⁴. In three cases it has readings which may be accepted as correct, where the later MSS. are unmetrical; one of these corrections had been anticipated by Porson, another partially by Musgrave. In two cases it shares unmetrical readings with the later MSS. Twenty-three more lines of the *Phoenissae* are preserved on a wooden tablet, evidently intended for use in school, and having on its other side a portion of the lost *Hecale* of Callimachus⁵. The writing is of the fourth century, and the text is generally identical with the vulgate. In one case (1104 *νηίσταις*) it has a form which modern editors have preferred to that of our later MSS.; in another (1132 *βάθρων*) it confirms a generally accepted emendation of Kirchhoff. On the whole it must be said with regard to Euripides that the evidence as yet extant is small, but that, so far as it goes, it confirms the received text.

Of the known plays of Aristophanes no portion is extant on papyrus, but a vellum fragment which is said to be not later than the sixth century contains fifty-six lines of the *Birds*⁶. In three

¹ Weil, *Monuments grecs* (1879).

² Wessely, *Mith. aus d. Sammlung d. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, V. 65; Nicole, *Rev. de Philologie*, xix. 165.

³ A. Kirchhoff, *Monatsberichte d. k. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1881, p. 982; contains ll. 242-459, 466-487, 492-515. The only substantial variants are 302 τῶ for τῶν, 430 μὴ προσοφθείην for μήπορ' ὀφθείην, and 510 ἄρτι δ' ἦλθε for ἦλθε δ' ἄρτι.

⁴ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II. 224, containing *Phoen.* 1017-1043, 1064-1071. Notable readings: 1019 περούσσα (correct spelling) for the περούσα of the MSS. (again in 1042), 1022 πολύφορος (i.e. -φθόρος), πολύστονος for πολύστονος πολύφθορος (some MSS. πολύμοχος), 1023 μῆτορ' ἄρθεος for -ον (with some MSS.), 1035 ἐστέναξαν for ἐστέναζον, 1036 ἱμῖον βοᾶν (giving correct metre) for ἱμῖον βοᾶν (ἱμῖον βοᾶν βοᾶν Grotius, edd.), 1038 ἄλλον for ἀλλ' (unmetrical, but with all MSS.), ἐπωτότυξε for -υξε, 1040 ἀχᾶ for λαχᾶ (giving correct metre; ἀχᾶ Musgrave), πόλεος for πόλεως (confirming Porson's conjecture and restoring metre), ἀφανίσαιεν (with MSS., but metre requires ἀφανίσαι').

⁵ Weinberger, *Mith. aus d. Sammlung d. Pap. Erzherzog Rainer*, V. 74; contains *Phoen.* 1097-1107, 1126-1137. Besides the readings mentioned above it has 1101 ξυνήψαν for -ψεν, 1130 σιδηρονώτου for -οις, 1136 ὕδραν for ὕδρας.

⁶ Weil, *Revue de Philologie*, xiii. 179 (1882); contains *Birds* 1057-1085, 1101-1127.

places (1069 probably δάκετα πάνθ' ὅσα περ, 1078 ἀπαγάγη, 1080 πᾶσι om.) it has probably correct readings where our existing texts were unmetrical; in the first two of these cases modern editors had anticipated it. Otherwise it supports the vulgate as against modern corrections (e. g. in reading οἶ in 1063, and in confirming πρόλογος in the scholion to 1113 as explanation of πρηγορεῶν, wherein it agrees with our best MSS. and with Suidas); but the sample is too small to allow of any far-reaching conclusions.

Passing from the dramatists to the historians, Herodotus is only represented by three small fragments of the first book, of which only one contains readings of any value¹. With Thucydides the case is different, since we have six fragments of his History, one of which is of considerable importance. This is the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (no. 16) of the fourth book (cc. 36-41) edited by Mr. Hunt and now in the Bodleian². The text, which is of the first century, has been rather extensively corrected, and as corrected is of good quality. It has some ten or twelve substantial variants which deserve consideration; no less than eight of them have been adopted by Hude in his recent edition, and seven in that of Mr. Stuart Jones. One of these improvements, which removes an anacoluthon by the omission of a ὅτι, had been proposed by some editors. The proportion of new and good readings is higher than usual; but all consist of small alterations, and the papyrus lends no support to the theory of extensive corruption by means of the incorporation of ascripts and *marginalia* which has found favour with some editors of the classics, and especially in the case of Thucydides. That some of the roughnesses of his style may be due to the errors of copyists is possible, and even probable; but that any wholesale corruption of his text has taken

¹ Oxyrhynchus Papp. 18 (parts of I. 105-106) and 19 (part of I. 76), and a Munich papyrus (I. 115-116) published by Wilcken in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, I. 471. The latter, which is assigned to the first or second century, has the following variants: c. 115 ἐς τοῦτο εἶναι for εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο, τούτου εἵνεκεν for εἵνεκα τούτου, c. 116 ἐσήμε for ἐσήμε (against MSS., but the correct form, conjectured by Stein), αὐτοὺς (with most MSS., as against ἐωντὸν, which is generally adopted as giving an easier sense), ἐλευθεριωτέρη for ἐλευθερωτέρη (supporting a conjecture of Portus).

² Oxyrhynchus Pap. 16. Notable variants: c. 37 ὅτι om. (so Stephanus and some edd., against MSS.), εἰ βούλονται for εἰ βούλουτο, ἀνοκωχῆς (second hand) for ἀνακ-, 38 ἔλεξεν for ἔλεγε, οἱ before Λακ. om., τὴν ἡμέραν om., διέδωσαν for διεδίδωσαν or ἐδίδωσαν (with K N), 39 οἱ before ἐν τῇ νήσῳ om. (with f), σίτος for σίτος, 40 κάγαθοι ἦσαν for κάγαθοί. Hude accepts all of these except the last and the omission of τὴν ἡμέραν. Mr. Stuart Jones accepts nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, and also σταδαία (the reading of the corrector of the papyrus) for σταδία at the end of c. 38.

place is not only not probable but may almost be considered now to be disproved. The same conclusion is indicated by another Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the first century, containing parts of two chapters of the second book¹. This exhibits two probable readings for which there is other MS. evidence (91 πρὸς τὴν for ἐς τὴν, *ib.* σχοῦσαι for ἴσχουσai), and one new reading (ἀμννούμεναι for -νοι) which removes an anacoluthon and which may consequently be accepted without demur. Otherwise the text is normal.

Oxyrhynchus Pap. 452, of the second or third century, containing part of iv. 87, has three new readings (πλείστους for πλείους, πρῶτον for πρῶτοι, and ἀείμνηστον for ἀίδιον), the last of which cannot be explained as a scribe's error, but must be an example of that phenomenon which is so often imagined and so rarely proved, the intrusion of a scholium. In this instance the reading of the vulgate is probably to be preferred to that of the papyrus, in which case the intrusion did not succeed in corrupting the main current of tradition. The three remaining Thucydides fragments² are of no importance.

Xenophon is represented by eight papyri, two of which (Oxy. Papp. 28 and 226) may be dismissed at once as unimportant. The other six all have some points of interest. A fragment of the Πόροι at Munich³ of the second century has one good reading (οἰκείσθαι for ὠκῆσθαι) which modern editors, though in search of an emendation, had failed to find, and one error (οῦν for ἀν) which was perpetuated into the Middle Ages. Oxyrhynchus Pap. 227, of the first century, contains portions of five columns of the *Oeconomica* (viii. 17–ix. 2), and has a few probable new readings⁴, besides some variants in mutilated passages, which cannot be satisfactorily deciphered. The papyrus also contains some unquestionable errors. In one place, where all the later MSS. are corrupt, it confirms a conjecture by Schneider which had not met with general acceptance.

Oxyrhynchus Pap. 463, the sole representative of the *Anabasis*, contains portions of seven columns in a hand of the second or third

¹ Oxyrhynchus Pap. 225; contains parts of II. 90–91.

² Oxyrhynchus Papp. 17 (II. 7–8), 451 (II. 73–74), 453 (VI. 32), all of the second or third century.

³ Wilcken, *Archiv*, I. 473; contains Πόροι I. 5–6.

⁴ viii. 17 ὁμοίως for ὅμως, 19 ἀλλὰ κομψὸς for ἀλλ' ὁ κομψὸς ὅτι, 20 ἤδη πού om., πάντων τούτων for τούτων, 21 ἔφην (after ἔξεστιν) om., 22 ἅπαντα om., ἕκαστον κεῖται for κεῖται, ix. 2 τῆς γε οἰκίας for τῆς οἰκίας (γε inserted elsewhere conjecturally by Cobet and others), ποικίλμασι πολλοῖς for ποικίλμασι, αὐτὸ (apparently) for αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἐν ἑκάστῳ for ἑκάστω (confirming Schneider's emendation of the certainly corrupt MSS.).

century¹. This text is of sufficient extent to allow of a comparison with the families into which the mediaeval manuscripts fall, with the result that the papyrus is found to agree six times with the Paris MS. (C), which is regarded as being the best, against the inferior MSS., but also six times with the inferior MSS. against C and its allies. In these cases the truth probably lies with the inferior MSS. (in four instances Gemoll had already adopted their readings), the conclusions to which we are directed being thus: first, that the papyrus has a relatively good text; secondly, that it is prior in date to the division into families observable in the vellum MSS.; and thirdly, that among these vellum MSS. the truth is not always to be found with the family which modern editors have agreed to regard as superior.

A Vienna papyrus of the *Cyropaedia*², of the second century, is notable for its large apparatus of scholia giving alternative readings. Many of these were already known to us as variants occurring in one or other of our existing MSS. The text of the papyrus also shows a considerable number of new readings, though none very revolutionary. Like the *Anabasis* MS. just mentioned, it does not range itself uniformly with any of the families into which our later MSS. are divided.

Another papyrus of the Rainer collection, of the third century, is the longest Xenophon papyrus hitherto discovered, consisting of

¹ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxy. Pap.* III. p. 119; contains *Anab.* VI. vi. 9-24. The collation gives the following readings: § 10 ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι for τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει (A B C E) or ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐκείνο (vulg.), 15 τι (with B C E) for τινός (vulg.), ἐμαυτοῦ (E vulg.) for ἐαυτοῦ (A B C), 17 εἶπεν Ἀγασίας (with A B C E) for Ἀγασίας εἶπεν (vulg.), 18 ἐκδῶτέ με (with edd.) for ἐκδότη με (A B C E) or ἐκδῶτε (vulg.), δ τι (with A B C D E F H) for δ (cett.), πολεμεῖτε (with A B C E) for πολεμήτε (vulg.), σώζεσθε (vulg.) for σώζοισθε (A B C), ποι for ὅποι (D F H I K T Z), ὅπου (A B C E) or ὅπη (cett.), μέντοι μοι (with A B C D E H I K L) for μέντοι (cett.), 20 κελεύουσι (vulg.) for ἐκέλευσε (A B C E), εἶτε (vulg.) for εἶ τι (A B C E), καὶ (with O) for ἡ καὶ (vulg.), 22 οἶδα αἰρεθέντα (apparently, with A B C E) for αἶρ. οἶδα (vulg.), 24 ἡγες ἢ ἄλλος τις (vulg.) for ἡγῇ ἄλλως ἢ τις (A B C E), καὶ μὴ (vulg.) for ἡ καὶ (A B C E).

² Wessely, *Mith. aus d. Sammlung d. Pap. Erzherzog Rainer*, VI. 81; contains V. ii. 3-iii. 26, with mutilations. Notable readings: ii. 4 apparently om. εἶ που εἷρ αἰρήσιμον τὸ τεῖχος, 25 λέξατε for λέξατε δὴ, πολεμίους for πολεμικῶς, iii. 2 ἔλεξεν, ὃ ἄνδρες φίλοι for ἔλ. ὦδε, ἄν. φίλ., 3 πάντως for πάνυ, ποιήσαιμεν for ποιήσομεν, γνοίη ἂν ὅτι ἐλευθέρους [-ρους marg.] εἶναι καὶ ἄνευ χρυσοῦ ἔστιν for γν. ἂν, ἔφη, ὅτι ἔστιν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ ἄνευ χρ., δ αἶγει (ἦει marg.) for ἦει, αὐτὴν Βαβυλῶνα for Βαβ., 9 ὃ τι ἂν [λέγει εἰδ]ητε (supporting the corrector of G against the various readings of other MSS. and conjectures of modern editors), 12 στρατεύματα ἔρχονται for στρατεῦμα ἀπέρχονται, 19 ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτους for ἡμᾶς, τοιαῦτα for ταῦτα, 22 χωρὶς for φρονερίῳ. There are also several variations in the order of words. For the scholia, and the various readings to which they testify, see Wessely, *l.c.*

seventeen columns (somewhat mutilated throughout) of the first book of the *Hellenica*. It is correctly written, as a rule, and generally supports the vulgate text¹. It has about twenty peculiar variants, a few of which may possibly be right, but they are of slight importance. In several instances it confirms the received text as against modern conjectures, notably in regard to the chronological sections at the end of the second and beginning of the third chapters, which many critics have suspected. If they are insertions, they are of comparatively early date.

Finally, a small fragment of the *Memorabilia*², of the third century, originally published by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and now in the British Museum, has a few readings which are worth noting, but does not differ much from the vulgate. In one instance it confirms an early restoration of a corrupt passage, which modern editors had ignored, thus showing how difficult it is for even a correct conjecture to establish itself.

The philosophers are represented at present only by Plato, of whose works however no less than eleven papyri are extant, of which five³ are so small as to be unimportant. The most important, both in age and in interest of text, are, no doubt, the fragments of the *Phaedo* and the *Laches* extracted by Prof. Petrie from the mummy-cases of Gurob, dating from the third century B.C. Of these the *Phaedo* is the most extensive, though it contains less than a tenth of

¹ Wessely, *ib.* VI. 17; contains *Hell.* I. ii. 2-v. 8, with mutilations. Notable readings: ii. 7 ἀπέπλευσεν (so vulg.) for ἐπλευσε, 11 ἐπλευσαν for ἐπλεον, εὐθὺ Δέσβου for ἐπὶ Δ., 13 δὲ for δντα, κατέλυσεν (confirming MSS. against ἀπέλυσεν of edd.), §§ 19 and iii. 1 confirmed (bracketed by edd.), 5 ἔξωθεν for ἔξω, ἐβοήθει for προσεβ., 9 ὦνπερ for ὄσονπερ, μηδὲ for μὴ, 10 τοῖς τε for τοῖς, 11 ἦκεν for ἦλθεν, 19 ἐπαγόμενος for ὑπ., προδιδοῖη for προδοῖη, ἀπολλυμένους (with one MS.) for -vas: iv. 2 confirms ὄνομα (bracketed by edd.), λέγοντες for καὶ ἔλεγον, 6 κατέσχε for κατέιχε, μέμψησθε for μέμψηται, 11 ἔχοι for ἔχει (with most MSS.), 12 ἐπειδὴ for ἐπεὶ, 14 confirms ἀρτι against Cobet, 15 confirms δουλεύων (bracketed by Dindorf), 19 κατείδεν for κατιδὼν, μετ' αὐτῶν for μετὰ τῶν: v. 3 ἐπὶ λίπη for ἐκλ., 4 ταῦτά τε for ταῦτ', 7 προὔδακεν om., 8 ταῦτα om.

² Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, II. 13, now Brit. Mus. Pap. 995 b. The identification of the passage was made (by Prof. T. Gomperz) after publication; for an amended text of the fragment after the identification see the preface to Marchant's *Xenophontis Opera Omnia*, tom. ii (Oxford, 1900). It contains part of I. iii. 15-iv. 3. Readings: iii. 15 it supports ἀρκούντως which Cobet obelized, πολὺ om., iv. 1 supports ὥς against οἷς conjectured by Jacobs and others, προτρέψασθαι for προτρέψασθαι, perhaps πᾶν for πάντ', 2 θεο[is οὔτε εὐ]χόμενον (confirming restoration of early editors) for θεοῖς μὴ μαχόμενον (A B) or θεοῖς μηχανώμενον (vulg.), 3 supports διθυράμβῳ against διθυράμβων which was adopted by Cobet from two MSS.

³ Oxyrhynchus Papp. 24, 229, 455, 456, and Brit. Mus. Pap. 187 verso.

the whole dialogue¹. Many of its readings are very noteworthy and offer a problem of some interest. Such variants as ἡ παίδων ἕνεκα for καὶ νιέων (p. 68 A), or ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνδραποδώδῃ σωφροσύνην for περὶ ταύτην τὴν εὐίθη σωφροσύνην (p. 68 E), amount to paraphrase, and yet in neither case would one have supposed that a gloss was required to make the meaning clear, which might subsequently have made its way into the text². In two cases the readings of the papyrus find support in Iamblichus, and once a reading which modern editors have adopted from Stobaeus against our MSS. finds confirmation in the papyrus. Many of the variants are only in the order of the words, often resulting in the introduction of hiatus where our later MSS. avoid it; it is obvious that this phenomenon is capable of explanation in either direction. On the whole it may be said that the new readings are not weighty in character, but their number and the extent of variation exhibited in them seem to point, just as the earliest papyri of Homer do, to the existence of a certain amount of licence in copyists of the early Ptolemaic period.

A similar conclusion is indicated by the *Laches* fragments³; but here the exact amount of deviation from the vulgate text is left

¹ Mahaffy, *Petrie Papyri*, I. 5-8, now Brit. Mus. Pap. 488; contains portions of pp. 67 E-69 A, 79 C-81 D, 82 A-84 B. Notable readings: 68 A ἡ παίδων ἕνεκα for καὶ νιέων, πολλοὶ for πολλοὶ δὲ, 68 B μέλλοντα ἀποθανεῖσθαι om., 68 C ὦν καὶ om., 68 D ἔφη om., κακῶν εἶναι for κακῶν (with Stobaeus and edd., against MSS.), να μάλα for καὶ μάλα, ἀλογον for ἀτοπον, 68 E σωφρονοῦσιν for σώφρονές εἰσι, ὅμοιον for ὅμοιον εἶναι, ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνδραποδώδῃ for περὶ ταύτην τὴν εὐίθη, ἵπ' ἐκείων for ἵπ' ἄλλων, 69 A συμβαίνει δ' οὖν for ἀλλ' ὅμως συμβαίνει, 80 D τὸν γενναῖον for γενναῖον, καὶ φρόνιμον om. (or inserted after θεὸν), 80 E τόδε οὐδὲν for τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν, 81 A μετὰ θεῶν for μετὰ τῶν θεῶν, 81 B γοηγενομένη for γεγοητευμένη, ἵπ' αὐτοῦ om., σοφία for φιλοσοφία, 81 C ἔφη om., ὦ φίλε om., 81 D a mutilated variant after φαντάσματα, αὐτὰς for ταύτας, 82 B ἀφικέσθαι for ἀφικνεῖσθαι, [ἡμερῶ]τερον apparently for ἡμερον, 82 D ταύτῃ δὴ for ταύτῃ, πῶς λέγεις ἔφη for πῶς, 82 E τοῦ δεδέσθαι for τῷ δεδέσθαι (confirming conjecture of Heindorf), 83 B ὅν om., ᾧ δὲ αὐτὴ προσέχει for ὃ δὲ αὐτὴ ὁρᾷ, καὶ φύβων om. (with Iamblichus), ἡ φοβηθῇ ἢ λυπηθῇ (with Iambl.), 83 C μάλιστα δὲ εἶναι τοῦτο for τοῦτο ἐναργέστατον τε εἶναι καὶ ἀληθέστατον, 83 E ἕνεκά φασιν om.

² ἀνδραποδώδῃ is no doubt used with reference to the recurrence of the word in p. 69 B, and may have seemed suitable on account of the use of κρατουμένους in the next clause; but its insertion in place of εὐίθη is still very gratuitous.

³ Mahaffy, *op. cit.* II. 50, now Bodl. MS. gr. class. d. 22, 23 (P); an additional fragment published by Smyly in *Hermathena*, xxv. 407. Contains pp. 189 D-191 E, with lacunas. Notable readings: 189 D καὶ before ὑμῖν om. (with Bekker), πειστέον μέντοι Λυσιμάχῳ τοῦτῳ for πειστέον, ὦ Νικία τε καὶ Δάχης, Λυσιμάχῳ, εἶχε for ἔχει, 190 E καλῶς for εὖ, 191 B τὸ ἐκείνων and τό γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων om., 191 C ὃ ἀπὸρ for αἴτιον, 191 E ἀνδρεία μὲν πάντες οὗτοι ἀνδρείοι ἐπεὶ οἱ μὲν (apparently) for ἀνδρείοι μὲν πάντες οὗτοί εἰσιν ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν, πυνθάνομαι for ἐπυνθανόμην, 192 A perhaps σκελῶν [ἢ νοήμα]τ[ός τε] ἀ[μα καὶ] φωνῆς for σκ. ἢ στόματός τε καὶ φωνῆς ἢ διανοίας. In some other mutilated passages also the papyrus appears to have differed from the texts known to us.

uncertain by the mutilation of several passages in which the papyrus appears to have a new reading. The variants are less numerous than in the *Phaedo*, and are not fundamentally important; but where they occur internal considerations are somewhat favourable to their authenticity. They do not amount, however, to a serious disturbance of the vulgate.

Another *Laches* fragment (Oxyrhynchus Pap. 228), of the second century¹, contains a relatively large number of small variants, chiefly in the order of words. There are few obvious blunders, and the text appears to be of good quality, and the variants, though small, to deserve consideration. A fragment of the *Laws* (ix. 862 D-863 C), also from Oxyrhynchus (Pap. 23), of the third century, similarly shows some changes of order, but otherwise has no noteworthy variants, and in a few places supports the majority of our later MSS. against editorial changes².

The only Plato papyri which remain to be mentioned are two of the *Gorgias*. One of these, at Vienna³, of the third century, contains only small variants, chiefly in respect of particles; it has one case of agreement with Iamblichus against our MSS. The other, an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the second century⁴, supports Iamblichus and Stobaeus twice, but generally is against them. It establishes the antiquity of an obvious blunder which is found in all our MSS. (the omission of ἄλλιοι before οἱ ἄλλιοι in 508 B, which is required by the sense), and it has several mistakes of its own, with few variants which deserve consideration. It is occasionally found supporting the Vienna MS. (F) against the Clarkianus.

The last class of authors to be mentioned is that of the orators. Of Isocrates we have two papyri which are small in extent and of

¹ Contains pp. 197 A-198 A. The more notable variants are 197 A τὸ τὰς δειν[for τὸ τὰ δεινὰ, 197 C οὐκουν σέ γε for οὐκουν ἔγωγε, ἄμαχον for Δάμαχον (with two minor MSS.), 197 D μὴ and ὅδε om., τὰ πολλὰ for πολλὰ, καὶ πρέπει for καὶ γὰρ πρέπει, προεστάναι for προϊστάναι (with some MSS.), 197 E μέντοι που for μέντοι, ταῦτα δὴ for ταῦτα δέ.

² Thus it apparently retains μὲν after οὕτω (last word of p. 862), and πᾶν after πράττειν in 863 B, and reads ὅν rather than ὧν before ὁ θυμὸς (*ib.*).

³ Wessely, *Mith. aus d. Sammlung d. Pap. Erzherzog Rainer*, II. 76; contains parts of pp. 504 B-505 A. Variants: 504 C ἐμοὶ γὰρ for ἐμοιγε, 504 D ταῖς δέ γε τῆς ψυχῆς for ταῖς δέ τῆς ψ., 504 E confirms ἔλαττον against conjectures βλάπτων or βλάψει, 505 A λυσιτελεῖν for -εῖ, οὐκουν και for οὐκουν or οὐκοῦν (οὐκοῦν και Iambl., οὐκουν και some MSS.).

⁴ Oxyrhynchus Pap. 454; contains 507 C-508 D. Notable readings: 507 E προσφίλης εἴη for πρ. ἂν εἴη (with F, Iamblichus and Stobaeus), ὅτῳ γὰρ for ὅτῳ δέ (with Iambl. and Stob.), 508 B does not insert ἄλλιοι before οἱ ἄλλιοι (with all MSS. but against sense), ἐκεῖνα om. apparently, 508 C οὐδὲ σώσαι for οὐδ' ἐκσώσαι (with F), 508 D ἐκβαλεῖν for ἐκβάλλειν (in better harmony with ἀποκτείνειν).

little textual importance (Oxy. Pap. 27 and Amherst 25), two which deserve some slight notice, and two which are of great extent and considerable interest. The earlier of these, Brit. Mus. Pap. 132, may be referred to the first century, and is one of the longest classical texts (other than Homeric) extant upon papyrus, containing the greater part of the *De Pace*. It has lately been exhaustively studied by Drerup, whose results have not yet been published; but the incomplete collation of it which already exists¹ is probably sufficient for our present purpose, as showing the general trend of its evidence. In the criticism of Isocrates, as is well known, one MS., the Urbinas (Γ), stands out above all the rest, and has naturally been followed by modern editors wherever it is not manifestly in error. The papyrus, however, shows that such exclusive trust in a single MS., or in one family of MSS., is unsound criticism. In 123 instances it supports the Urbinas, in 54 the inferior MSS., while corrections are occasionally made in both directions. Now without going into the merits of each individual case, this distribution of evidence is sufficient to show that the division into families which we find in the mediaeval vellum MSS. had not been made at the date when our papyrus was written. Consequently, although the balance of probability remains on the side of the Urbinas, it would be very unsafe to conclude that it is invariably to be preferred to its rivals. The truth will be sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, and criticism must do its best to judge between them. The new readings of the papyrus are numerous, but not of great value.

The other MS., a papyrus at Marseilles of the third or fourth century, containing the first thirty chapters of the *In Nicoclem*², goes still further in its support of the so-called inferior MSS. In nineteen cases it definitely supports them against the Urbinas, and in no instance does it support the Urbinas against them. It has about thirty new readings, of which two agree with the quotations of Stobaeus and two with the conjectures of modern scholars. Several of the others seem worthy of consideration.

¹ *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum*, p. 63. The collation is too long to repeat here. A complete transcript will be published shortly.

² Schoene, in *Mélanges Graux*, p. 481 ff. Notable readings: 2 διοικῆς for διοικῶς (so conjectured by Blass), om. either ἀναγκάζεσθαι or βουλεύεσθαι, 7 ἐλάβομεν for ἔλαβεν, 8 τὰς μοναρχίας for ταῖς μοναρχίαις (so Cobet), 9 τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν συμπίπτοντα for τὰ συμπίπτοντα κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν, 10 τούτων for τηλικούτων, μηδ' ἀμελεῖν om., 11 adds δοκιμάζειν after τὴν ἐαυτῶν, αὐτῶν om., 12 adds αὐτὰς after ἀξίας, ψυχὴν for φύσιν, 20 ταῖς δὲ ἀληθεστάταις for ταῖς δὲ ἀληθείαις, 21 ἄλλων for φίλων, τῶν ἰδίων for τῶν οἴκων, ἔργον ἐστίν for ἐστί, 22 καὶ . . . νόμιμον om., 25 ἐξεργάζεσθαι . . . ἐπιχειρῶσιν om. apparently, 28 ποιῆς ἢ λέγῃς for λ. ἢ π. (with Stobaeus), 29 ψευδῶς om. (with Stobaeus, etc.), ὥσπερ for αἰσπερ, 30 μὴ after εἶναι om.

The two smaller fragments of Isocrates which deserve notice are both in the Rainer collection at Vienna. The earlier of these¹, which is assigned to the first or second century, contains two imperfect columns from the *Philippus*. In five cases of divergence it agrees four times with the inferior MSS. and only once with the Urbinas. The second MS.², like the Marseilles papyrus, belongs to the *In Nicoclem*, containing part of one broad column in a hand assigned to the fourth century. The variants are slight, and about equally divided between the Urbinas and the inferior MSS. In three cases its variants agree with those of the Marseilles papyrus.

Aeschines was wholly unrepresented among our papyri until the publication, a few months ago, of the third Oxyrhynchus volume, which contains two fragments of this orator. The first (Pap. 457) is a column from the *In Ctesiphontem* (§ 167), from a roll of the second century, which exhibits five or six interesting variants from the common text³; two of them have some support from other MSS., and one (*προσκαθίζῃσει*, if this is the true reading of the mutilated word in the papyrus) is the reading adopted by several editors in place of the unsatisfactory texts of the MSS. The other papyrus (Pap. 458) contains a few lines of the *De Falsa Legatione*, in a hand of the third century, with some mistakes, but no important variants.

We come now in conclusion to Aeschines' great rival, of whose writings more papyri are in existence than of any other author, with the single exception of Homer. They amount to twenty in all, besides a very early vellum fragment which must be reckoned with them. Unfortunately, nearly all of them are but small fragments, and two of the longest belong to some of the least important works, the Epistles and the *Προόμια Δημηγορικά*. The *De Corona* appears

¹ Wessely, *Mith. aus d. Sammlung d. Pap. Erzherzog Rainer*, II. 74; contains parts of §§ 114-117. Variants: 114 *βουλευμασιν* for *βουλήμασιν* (with vulg., against Γ), 115 *ῥῶν* for *ῥάδιον* (with vulg., against Γ), *κησασθαι* for *κτ. σε* (with Γ, against vulg.), 116 *ἐπὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τῶν* for *ἐπὶ τε τὰς εὐ. τὰς τῶν* (with vulg., against Γ), 117 *ἡμῖν αἰτίους* for *αἰτ. ἡμῖν* (with vulg., against Γ).

² Rainer Pap. 8029, Wessely, *ib.* IV. 136; contains parts of §§ 2-4. Variants: 2 *πολλά ἐστὶν* for *ἐστὶν πολλὰ* (with Pap. Mass. against MSS.), *καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν* [*βουλευσθαι*] for *καθ' ἐκ. βουλ. τὴν ἡμέραν* (approximately with Γ), 3 *ἐπιτίθεσθαι* for *ἐπιθέσθαι* (with Mass.), [*καὶ τῶν*] *ποιητῶν τινες* for *τινὲς καὶ τῶν π.* (with Mass. and Γ), 4 *κατασταθῶσιν* for *καταστῶσιν* (with vulg. and Stob., against Γ), *αὐτοῖς οὐ πλησιάζουσιν* for *οὐ πλ. αὐ.* (with vulg., against Γ), *συνόντες αὐτοῖς* apparently for *συνόντες*.

³ *συστήσασθαι* for *συστῆσαι* (with K), *σὺ Θεττάλους ἀφιστάναι* *σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην ἀποστήσεις* for *σὺ Θ. ἀφιστάναι* or *σὺ Θεττάλους ἀποστήσεις* (with **e k l**, followed by Blass), *πάρεστιν* for *πρόσεστιν*, *προσκαθίζῃσει* probably, with the editors, against *προσκαθίσεις* and other readings, *ἄγαν προσποιήσῃ* for *προσποίησῃ*.

in five papyri, all from Oxyrhynchus (Papp. 25, 230, 231, 461, 462). Of these the most important is Pap. 230, a second-century copy of §§ 40-47¹. The text of this is good, and the variants from the received text slight; it is chiefly noteworthy for its refusal to endorse the conjectures of modern editors. Pap. 461 has three or four variants, of very slight importance; and the three others offer nothing of interest.

The *De Falsa Legatione* is more fortunate; for besides a small fragment of papyrus (Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, II. 9) which has no feature of interest beyond the omission of three words, which must be due to the scribe overlooking a line in his archetype, it is represented by two leaves of vellum, written in a small hand which has nothing in common with the hands hitherto known to us in vellum MSS., but is akin rather to the hands found in certain papyri, and may be assigned to the second century². It contains twenty-two chapters of the speech, with some mutilations, and consequently offers a sufficient extent of text to be really valuable. On the whole it decidedly confirms the vulgate text. It has several differences in the order of words, but larger variants are few³; the majority chiefly affect the tenses employed. In no case does it support Blass in his rigid application of euphonic rules. As a rule it supports the MSS. against the quotations in ancient authors, where they differ⁴. Where the MSS. are divided it by no means always supports the Paris MS. (S), which is generally regarded as the best extant MS. of Demosthenes⁵. Where it stands alone against the later MSS. the differences are generally slight, but the probabilities are not always

¹ Notable readings: 40 κέρχρηται οἱ ταλαίπωροι Θεβαῖοι (apparently), 42 om. ἴσως after μᾶλλον, ἐκείνῳ after ἑαυτοῦς (om. Bekker and Blass, τῷ Φιλίππῳ most MSS.), 43 εἰρήνην αὐτοὶ for εἰ. ἄσμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ (against Bekk., Blass, but with S), ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου (chr. om. Bekk., Blass), 44 τινὰς ἐκ τῶν for τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν, 46 καὶ τᾶλλ' ἂ προσήκει πάντα for καὶ πάνθ' ἂ προσήκειν (with Hermogenes, against Blass).

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 34473 (1); published in *Journal of Philology*, xxii. 247 ff., with a collation with the text of Blass.

³ The larger variants are § 20 the insertion of ὑπὲρ Φωκίων after εἰπεῖν, 30 ἀπώλεσε τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν for ἀπώλεσεν ἂν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, 31 ἵνα γνῶτε for ἵν' εἰδῆθ'.

⁴ E.g. § 17 ἀληθῇ for τἀληθῇ (with MSS., against Aristides), 23 οὔτε πιστεύειν ἠβούλεσθε ἄλλα πλὴν for οὔτε πιστεύειν ἐβούλεσθε πλὴν (with MSS., against Priscian), 24 οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες for ὁ δ' ἀντιλέγων (with MSS., against Libanius), 30 πολλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις and παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις (omitted by Sopater and Schol. Plat. Alcib. II. 147 D).

⁵ E.g. § 13 ὧν προεῖρηκεῖ with Q marg. (ὧνπερ εἶπον εἰρήκει S Q, ὧν ὅπερ εἶπον εἰρήκει vulg.), 21 αὐτῷ with most MSS. (ἑαυτῷ S), 22 εἶναι δὲ τι καὶ ἄλλο (εἶναι μέντοι καὶ ἄλλο S L O Y, εἶναι μέντοι τι καὶ ἄλλο vulg.), 30 τῶν Φωκίων with F Q etc. (τῶν om. S).

in favour of our MS., and sometimes are clearly against it. On the whole, therefore, a very conservative MS.

The *Philippics* appear in two instances (Amherst Pap. 24, of *Phil.* ii. 1. 5, fourth century, on vellum, and Fayum Towns Pap. 8, of *Phil.* iii. 38-40, 42, second century); but neither has any important readings. A papyrus of the *In Phormionem* (Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, II. 10) has two new readings in as many chapters¹. Of two papyri of the *Contra Timocratem* (Oxy. Papp. 232, 233) one contains nothing of importance, the other has one departure from the MSS. (§ 57 ἤνπερ ἐκείνων for ἤνπερ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνων, where several MSS., including S, omit τῶν), but otherwise supports the MSS. against the alterations introduced by Blass. Oxyrhynchus Pap. 459, a large leaf from a papyrus codex of the third century, containing ten chapters (110-119) of the *Contra Aristocratem*, exhibits a text generally correct, the variants being unimportant and in almost all cases already otherwise known². It shows no special adhesion to any one MS. or group of MSS. Pap. 460, of the *De Pace* (§§ 21, 23, early third century) has one marked new reading, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς κέρδος ἦν for οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι (where, however, if either is a gloss, it is the reading of the papyrus), and one confirmation of the Paris MS. (the omission of εἶναι in § 23) against the rest of the MSS. These two variants are of some interest.

A Berlin papyrus (P. 5879) of the first or second century, containing a mutilated text of about seven chapters of the *In Leptinem* (84-91), has three slightly noteworthy readings³, but otherwise gives a correct representation of the vulgate. A well-written fragment of the *Contra Meuliam* (§§ 41, 42) exhibits one trifling mistake, but no new readings. More extensive is an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (Pap. 26) of the Προοίμια Δημηγορικά, containing seven columns in a hand of the first or second century. It confirms one conjecture (Wolf's κοινῶν for κοινῶς in § 26, accepted by Blass), and has three or four good readings besides⁴. It does not support Blass's strict theory of ellipses.

¹ § 6 retains δραχμάς after χιλίας (with S F Q, against Bekker), 7 ποιῆσαι (after ἡμέλλει) for ποιήσιν (vulg.) or ποιεῖν (F Q, which also omit πᾶσι).

² § 113 τί δή ποτε τὸ αἶτιον for τί δή ποτ' αἶτιον (with F), καὶ τὰ παρόντα for τὰ π., 114 πολεμεῖν ἐστίν for πολεμεῖν, ἔχει for ἔχει (with most MSS.), ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ for ἑαυτοῦ (with **krsv**), 116 τοίνυν inserted by corrector after τοῦτο, between πεισθῆτε and εἰδότες there was apparently more than κάκεινο, 117 τουτονὶ for τοῦτον (with **krsv**), 118 καὶ φίλον deleted by corrector, in agreement with S.

³ § 87 παρ' ὑμῖν for ἐν ὑμῖν (with G t v), ὥς ἂν om., 88 om. ἂν before ἀνρείοι (haplography).

⁴ § 26 νῦν βεβουλευμένων for νῦν μὲν βουλομένων, οἷς for οἷα (with F), ἀκοῦσαι συν[for ἀκ. τούτων, 29 ταῦτο δὴ τοῦτο for τοῦτο δὴ τοῦτο (τοῦτο δὴ ταῦτο Reiske), ἔτι for εἰτιοῦν.

Passing by two or three unimportant scraps, there remains only the British Museum papyrus of the greater part of the third Epistle¹. This is an exceptionally early MS., belonging to the first century B.C.; it is also the longest extant papyrus of Demosthenes. Its text is good, and is generally on the side of the Paris MS. (S). It has, however, several marked variants which are peculiar to itself, and which certainly require attention on the part of future editors. The most noticeable is in § 13, where we find *ἐν παρρησίᾳ ζῶντες* for *ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ παιδείας μετέχοντες*. Others are § 4 *τοὺς μὲν βοηθήσοντας τῷ πλήθει* for *τοὺς μὲν βοηθήσαντας ἂν τῷ δήμῳ*, *ibid.* *εἴλετο ἂν συμφέρειν* for *εἶχετο τοῦτων ἂν συμφέρειν ἡγεῖτο*, and several substitutions of synonyms, such as *μῆκος* for *πλήθος*, *προσῆκει* for *συμφέρει*, *μᾶλλον* for *μείζον*, *πλήρης* for *μεστός*, κ.τ.λ. In one case where the later MSS. are certainly corrupt it provides a sound reading (§ 30 *ἂν εἶδειν* for *ἀνέχεσθε*). It would seem as if the text of the letters was not much cared for, and deteriorated in later copies more than is the case with the orations. It is also noteworthy that this papyrus confirms a much larger proportion of editorial conjectures than is generally the case. No less than ten such conjectures thus receive now documentary support from a manuscript of very early date and apparently good character.

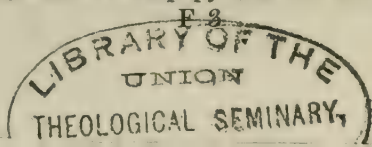
This concludes our survey in detail of the materials provided by the papyri hitherto discovered; it remains to consider the general results to which they would seem to point. On a broad, general view the result is reassuring. Taken in the mass the papyri confirm the authenticity of our generally received texts. The hypothesis that difficulties and obscurities in the classics are due to extensive corruption by ignorant scribes in the later Byzantine period may now be ruled out of court altogether. We have evidence, reaching back in most cases to the second century and not unfrequently some centuries earlier still, which is unanimous in assuring us that the classical texts of the age of the Antonines were substantially identical with those which we have hitherto known from manuscripts of the eleventh and later centuries. More than that, it can be affirmed that the best vellum MSS. of these later ages are often superior in correctness to the papyri. Nor is it unnatural that this should be the case, when once the hypothesis of Byzantine corruption has been exploded; for the vellum MSS. no doubt represent the tradition of the libraries, where good archetypes and trained scribes and revisers would be available, while the papyri must often be the work of

¹ Brit. Mus. Pap. 133; collation in *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum*, p. 56 ff.

provincial scribes with limited resources or even of private individuals.

In general, then, the result is reassuring; but there are some qualifications in detail which require consideration. In the comparatively few instances in which papyri take us back to the earlier part of the Ptolemaic period, there are signs of greater instability in our texts than in later periods. The earliest Homeric papyri, the Petrie *Phaedo*, to some extent the Demosthenic Epistle papyrus, give indications to this effect. Texts with frequent, if not individually important, variations from the vulgate would seem to have been far from uncommon at this period. This is a fact which criticism has to take note of, though its practical bearings are less important than at first sight may seem to be the case. At first sight the natural inference would seem to be that our present texts are due to the activity of the famous Alexandrian critics, who, it might be said, formed a standard text in accordance with their own critical views, and handed it down to subsequent generations. With regard, however, to the most important case, that of the Homeric poems, we have ample evidence that this is not the case. It has been conclusively shown by Ludwig, and confirmed by others—not from the papyri, but from quotations, scholia, and other sources—that the vulgate text existed before the days of Aristarchus and his colleagues, and that it persisted through and after that age, practically unaffected by their critical labours. The same, there is every reason to conclude, was the case with other authors. The period of Alexandrian criticism may well have been one of some unsettlement in textual matters, and may have led to the bringing to light of divergent texts in different parts of the Greek world; but the vulgate text, however formed and from whatever source derived, seems to have persisted through it, unaffected to any material extent by the theories of the critics. Probably a conservative tendency in the traditions of the libraries and the scribes counteracted the more revolutionary leanings of individual scholars.

An examination of the internal evidence leads to the same result; for the quality of the new readings contained in these early papyri is not in favour of their authenticity. In the case of Homer it may safely be maintained that none of the more marked novelties presented by the papyri of the third century B.C. has any claim to acceptance; and though some of the readings of the Petrie *Platos* are of better character, yet the total amount of modification in our received texts which any editor would be likely to make on the strength of them is assuredly small. On the whole, therefore, the earliest papyri, in



spite of their difference in character from their successors, do not materially affect our conclusion as to the authenticity of our generally received texts.

Nevertheless it would be a mistake to conclude that the papyri have no influence on the course of textual criticism. If on a broad view they confirm the integrity of our existing texts, in other respects their evidence is less satisfactory. No one would deny that many errors have found their way into our tradition, that many passages have come down to us in a corrupt state. The papyri as yet discovered touch upon only an infinitesimally small proportion of these, and, where they do, they do not always remove the difficulty. Some errors are shown to be of earlier origin even than our papyri; and, where the papyri do help us, they so rarely (on the whole) confirm the conjectures which critics have proposed, as to make us doubt the power of modern scholarship to arrive at correct conclusions without their aid. It is in this direction, in its bearing upon the powers and limitations of critical theory, that the evidence of the papyri is perhaps most valuable and interesting.

In the foregoing survey of the individual papyri, some instances were quoted of the confirmation of modern critical conjectures by recently discovered papyri; and in these it is possible that some of the earlier and more obvious corrections, made by scholars when modern criticism was younger, and since generally adopted in all printed editions, have been overlooked. But it cannot be denied that in general the papyri do not support the conjectures of modern scholars. When they do the variations have generally been quite small; in no case, it may safely be said, has any sweeping change been justified by the papyri.

Of the two aids upon which textual criticism is wont to rely in dealing with a doubtful text, the acumen of the critic and the scientific handling of the documentary evidence, the former is thus shown to be of very limited value. The chances against successful divination are great; and, even if a critic should chance to be right, it is hardly possible to demonstrate his success. Consequently the presumption will always be against any emendation (except the simpler corrections of a newly discovered text), until documentary evidence can be produced in its support. But when documentary evidence is producible, then critical scholarship has its proper function, to decide between the alternatives offered, and often to prefer the evidence of a single witness to that of a considerable number. But even here the papyri have weakened its resources. The favourite method of modern scholarship, and one by which much has been

gained in textual criticism, has been to endeavour to trace the relationships of the various manuscripts of an author, to divide them into families, to determine which manuscript or family represents the best tradition, and then to follow the evidence of this family or manuscript in almost all cases of doubt. But the papyri have shown us decisively in some cases, and allow us to argue by analogy to others, that these family-divisions are of relatively late origin, and that the better MSS. have no sort of monopoly of ancient and correct readings. In future, though still, in default of better means of arriving at the truth, the critical editor will own a general allegiance to the best manuscript or group among his authorities (and it may be placed to the credit of modern criticism that its judgements as to which are the best MSS. are generally supported by the papyri), yet he will have to be prepared to find the truth not unfrequently among the witnesses who usually are inferior, and to exercise a freer judgement in deciding between them. In this respect critical insight will regain some of the liberty of which the demonstration of its limited capacities in the sphere of conjectural emendation has deprived it; though even so it will behove the critic to go softly, in view of the possibility that the explorer's spade may any day bring his imaginations to a decisive and indisputable test.

[Since this paper was set up in type the fourth volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* and the Berlin papyrus containing the scholia of Didymus on Demosthenes have been published. The former includes twenty-nine fragments of the *Iliad* and eleven of the *Odyssey*, with no very notable readings; Hesiod, *Shield* 466-80, with two new variants; Sophocles, *Electra* 993-1007 (995 ποτε βλέψασα with one MS., 996 ὀπλίζῃ with MSS. for the ὀπλίξει of editors); Apollonius Rhodius, iii. 727-45 (739 om., with MSS., 745 ναυτίλοι, confirming Porson's conjecture against the ναῦται of the MSS.) and 908-13 (909 μετὰ for κατὰ, confirming Stephanus' conjecture), iv. 77-90; Theocritus, xiii. 19-34; Herodotus, v. 104-5; Thucydides, iv. 28-35 (parts of six more columns of the MS. described on p. 14, with several interesting readings, notably the confirmation of τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλεῖστον in ch. 34. 1); Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 3-11 (not agreeing with either of the two main families of MSS., but generally supporting that represented by D, Bodl., and Stobaeus), and the last sentences of book I, in which is included the clause (τοιαῦτα μὲν . . . Περσίδος) which generally stands as the beginning of book II; Theophrastus, *Characters*, 25, 26, in a form even more compressed than the common one; Demosthenes, *De Cor.*, pp. 230, 231; *Contra Timocr.*, pp. 720,

721; *Contra Boeotum*, pp. 1023, 1024; Aeschines, *In Ctes.* §§ 94, 96 (ζώντων before or instead of ὀρώντων, ἀπορίαν ἔσεσθαι for ἔσ. ἀπ., ταῦτα μὲν δὴ for ταῦτα μὲν); Isocrates, *Contra Sophistas*, §§ 16-18. More important is the Didymus papyrus, which contains considerable extracts from *Phil.* iv and the speeches on the Epistle of Philip and περὶ συντάξεως, in the form of *lemmata* to the scholia. As usual, the readings of the papyrus are not revolutionary, and do not support any one family of MSS. exclusively or very predominantly, but on the whole it agrees most with the better MSS., and especially with S. Altogether there is nothing in the new evidence to modify the conclusions of this paper.]

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